MAN!

"Man is the measurement of everything."

If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought--Let It Crack--WENDELL PHILLIPS

Vol. 7—No. 8 | Administration and Editorial Address: P. O. Box 971, Los Angeles, Calif. | Los Angeles, Calif., August, 1939 | 1 (513) | Single Copy 5 Cents

PROGRESS UNDER THE W. P. A.

The recent W. P. A. strike, which we prefer to label an abortive strike, is an excellent example of the workings of the government of this country. It affords us the chance to do some thinking as to the purpose and participants of the strike and the reaction of the administration in Washington toward the outbreak. Finally, it leads us to ask: What is the real condition of the worker today after seven years of a "new deal" regime?

To superficially review the strife itself, we can say that it involved principally the unemployed construction workers belonging to the A. F. of L. As skilled workers, they are paid $92.89 for 53 hours of work per month on W. P. A. jobs. Their hourly wage equalled that of the regularly employed men in private industry. When W. P. A. Administrator Colonel Harrington testified before Congress prior to this year's revision of the W. P. A., he stated that: 1) Carpenters on the W. P. A. worked 53 hours while common laborers put in 121 hours per month, 2) Skilled workers could secretely find private work when not putting in time on W. P. A. jobs. Therefore, Mr. Harrington submitted the following statement:

"It is my recommendation that persons employed on projects of the W. P. A. be required to work 130 hours per month and that the earnings of such persons be on a monthly basis."

The result of this statement was the passing of Colonel Harrington's law just about as he wanted it to be. According to Time Magazine of July 17, 1939, "President Roosevelt signed it without commenting on the 130 hour provision."

The strike was a result of this attempt to lower the wage scale of the skilled W. P. A. workers. The C. I. O. did not lift a finger to aid the strikers. The same policy, with the exception of a one-day, demonstrative abortive strike, was followed by the communist controlled Workers Alliance. It seemed that neither organization wanted to embarrass the Roosevelt administration. Instead they prefered to pin the blame on Congress. The Workers Security Federation (Socialist) and the WPA Teachers' Organization also kept themselves aloof as far as the strike was concerned.

No one, during the time the strike lasted, made the slightest attempt to interest or arouse the unskilled workers on WPA projects to strike for a standard union wage equal to that which prevails in private industry. It was not to be expected that the unskilled workers would go out on strike simply because of love for the skilled union members whose only gestures toward the unskilled laborers is a mean contemptuous look.

Under these conditions, it was only natural that the strike result in a complete fiasco.

We are of the opinion that this strike will be recorded in history not so much for its motives as a strike but for what the Roosevelt administration did to squelch it.

Mr. Roosevelt's dictum, similar to that heard today in Germany and Italy, was: "You cannot strike against the government." This was followed by Attorney General Murphy who stated: "There must be no strike against the government of the United States by anyone, anywhere at anytime . . . . Those leaders who have moved to exploit the protests of the WPA workers in violation of the Federal statutes will be prosecuted."

It should be remembered that the workers of America challenged the government even as far back as 1916 when they forced Congress to pass the Adamson eight hour law or face a general railroad strike.

In order to understand the vehemence behind these statements made by Roosevelt and Murphy, one should consider the position taken by the Roosevelt apologists concerning the strike. Mr. Jay Franklin, of the New York Post, wrote in the issue of July 21, 1939:

"It is a revolutionary tactic and involves the idea that the government is merely a part of the "bourgeois State" and is entitled to no loyalty over and above the performance of work for pay . . . it leaves the A. F. of L. in the position of fomenting an economic insurrection against the authority of a democratic government."

Evidently, the present administration does not consider itself the guardian and perpetuator of the present status quo—known as capitalist system. It is in order, therefore, to present indisputable figures which would challenge such a contention.

From Washington, D. C., comes a United Press dispatch dated May 31, 1939. It reads, in part:

"The American Association of Social Workers today made public a survey of relief conditions which described shocking misery among the unemployed . . . The report said that in January, 1939, there were more than 23,000,000 persons dependent on relief."

During the latter part of last year, Mr. Isador Lubin, economist for the Department of Labor, presented an interesting report on his findings. Among other things, he stated that less than 13% of all our families receive an income of $2,500 or more; aproximately one half of our families receive $1,250 and above; 54% (some 16,000,000 families out of a possible 29,000,000) fall below the $1,250 level.

The treasury department last year reported a 50% increase in number in the million dollar income group.

Another report made public last year was that of Mr. Willard Thorp to the Department of Commerce. He stated:

"Corporations with less than $50,000 assets accounted for over half the number of all corporations, but only 1.45 of total assets. On the other side of the scale, corporations with over $50,000,000, accounting for only .25 of the number, controlled over half of total assets for all corporations . . . Six per cent of all corporations owned 86% of all assets."

Before one can believe Mr. Jay Franklin, who says that the present administration is not a "bourgeois State," one will have to disprove the above quoted figures.

The WPA strike was doomed to end as it did primarily because of the lack of understanding and solidarity between the skilled and unskilled toilers of the land. Before this becomes a reality, the workers will have to learn not to trust the leadership of any labor organization—the C. I. O. as much as the A. F. of L., the Workers Alliance as well as similar organizations. Instead, the workers will have to learn to trust in themselves, in their unity of will and determination so that their one aim will be to bring about a social change resulting in a system wherein each and all will have equal opportunity to enjoy the fruits of labor.

Progress, under the W. P. A., has proved a tragic farce. It could not have been otherwise, for any and every sort of charity scheme engineered by capitalism and executed through its government cannot and will not go to the root of this system of injustice. That is a task which falls in the hands of the workers.

LABOR AND DEPORTATION

The policy of "I told you so" is a very poor and tactless one. However, one may be excused for unassumingly recalling one's opinion on and evaluation of a problem when present events prove one's correctness of position. It has long been our contention that deportation laws against so-called aliens are nothing but disguised attacks on labor—organized and otherwise—on the civil rights of the citizens and against the struggle of the workers to better their economic and social conditions.

Organized labor, eternally misled by its own bureaucratic upper crust, has invoked and supported all restrictive immigration and deportation legislation enacted in the last two decades. The well fed labor bureaucracy—in its great majority a riff-raff of reactionary professional leaders, irresponsible egotists, demagogues in search of a niche and plain boastful racketeers, a gentry who easily towed in its wake any sincere and earnest minority—promoted restrictive immigration laws, with the infantile expectation of helping solve the economic crises, and deportation laws, for the persecution of unruly unionists. Alien-baiting is not alien to the leaders of organized labor. While a large number of the trade unions afford equal opportunity to non-citizen members, some have, in their statutes, rules discriminatory to the non-citizens; others make citizenship a prerequisite for membership.

The leadership of organized labor has stupefied the workers into the belief that immigration and deportation laws are protective of their hypothetical economic security and high standard of living. This leadership, however, has never stressed the point that deportation laws, especially in the last decade, have been constantly used as a means of persecution and of strike breaking in every one of the labor strikes which obtained a semblance of prominence in the country.

The case of Harry Bridges is not the first to receive publicity to warrant the awakening of the workers to the old fact that no law will ever be enacted for the promotion and protection of their welfare. It is also the first case to prove to the cock sure labor bureaucracy that when they support laws like the anti-alien law, they are handling a double edged sword. The infamous laws which—with the approval of labor leadership—have made innumerable victims among the ranks of free thinking workers are now being applied and used against one of the labor bureaucrats singled out by the vindictiveness of the shipping and agricultural interests of the West Coast.

Regardless of unsupported denials by the self-styled liberals in the Department of Labor, deportation hearings have always been star chamber proceedings in as much as they have always been held, under administrative rule, behind closed doors. The Bridges case, because of the political weight and implications it carries, has succeeded in bringing a deportation hearing into the public light. It has caused the Department of Labor to appoint a special examiner thus breaking away from the usual unethical procedure of having its own obtuse and obdurate inspectors act as prosecutors and judges at the same time. This case has exposed the contemptible practice of immigration agents resorting to the dubious, unreliable and biased testimony of mercenary stool pigeons whose baseness is a disgrace to mankind. It has also shown the pitiful spectacle of a Department of the United States government stooping so low as to associate with forgers, perjurers and professional snoopers. Of course, the practice is not new; every similar case of deportation has been handled in the same manner. The newness is in the fact that the public is getting the opportunity of witnessing this unconceivable procedure. May the experience bring a healthy reaction.

In the light of this unprecedented case, what is labor doing? The very same thing it has done in the past: nothing. The rank and file membership supinely lets the leaders continue in their policy of political barter. Every piece of major legislation enacted at this session of Congress has carried an anti-alien rider; hundreds of Bills meant to destroy every vestige of civil rights for the aliens were introduced; a few of these Bills were passed; a Bill which would have authorized the institution of concentration camps for certain aliens passed the House without a dissenting vote. What was Labor doing meanwhile? Nothing. Nothing to stem off the aggressive and damaging inroads of reaction. This goes on because the American workers have been deceived into believing that anti-alien legislation does not affect them. The truth is that every bit of reactionary legislation, no matter

(Continued on Page Four, Col. Three)

THE INNOCENT ABROAD

Betty Morrison

Past, Present and Future

I never read history, for the same reason that I never walk backwards. It is easier and more effective to walk the other way. History seems to me absolutely unprofitable and intensely disagreeable. With the living, breathing world around me, why should I waste my time in the chamber of horrors at the wax works?

History teaches us to remember. I encourage everybody to forget—forget the past. Man remembers too much. If by some magic we could blot out the past from our mind; if one morning we were to wake up conscious only of the present, and of its relation to the future, marvelous progress would result.

It is the past that retards us. It is the past that tyrannizes over us. It imposes a despotic will upon us—bids us to do this, commands us to do that, keeps us drudging for it morning, noon and night, like-spiritless slaves.

And instead of rising in rebellion against this oppression, to which we are subjected by the past, we actually pretend that it is good for us, and write books on history to perpetuate our servitude!

History is no use to me, nor to any other innocent abroad. Let the wiseacre stupefy himself by setting all the wheels in his brain turning the wrong way, Let him get cross-eyed continually trying to see through the back of his head. For my part, when my mental machinery ceases to carry me outward it will be ready for the scrap heap. When I become addicted to the habit of staring behind me, draw the lids down over my eyes, comrade, and bury me in the Potters Field.

A Dissenting Voice

"Everything good that we possess has come from the past," said a dabbler in history with whom I talked on this subject.

"True," said I, "but when we possess it, it belongs to the present, so why worry about its antecedents?"

"By the lessons which the past imparts," said he, "we may the better shape our future course."

"Wrong," said I. "Do we retrace the way we have trod, to find what lies before us? Do we shoot the ray of the lantern along the old track, when we search for new paths?"

"History repeats itself, you know," said the reformer, "and by what has been we may divine what is to be."

We did not continue the discussion. Something intervened at that interesting point. But I've been thinking the matter over, testing every aspect of it by the infallible principles of philosophy, and if you'd like to hear the conclusions at which I have arrived—well, lend me your ears—provided they are not too long.

Betty, Is Your Foot Slipping?

Devotion to the past is our undoing. We permit that history has a trick of repeating itself. Such being the case, it certainly seemed a sensible thing to study its past in order to anticipate its future. And yet I feel sure it was a vain proceeding. What was the explanation of this discrepancy?

For a time the problem baffled me. Then suddenly there sprang into my mind an aphorism of a great thinker:

"When a fact talks back at you, get rid of it."

The fact that history repeats itself was talking back. I proceeded to rid myself of it straight away. I did it by depriving it of the undisputed position it has hitherto held, and reducing it to a state of helpless dependency.

Seizing it by the scruff of the neck I shook it violently and hissed: "History does not repeat itself by any power of its own. Man's silly worship of the past enables it to unload its second-hand stock on him—that's all!"

And giving it another shake, more violent than ever before, I dropped the wretched fact into the garbage can.

The Dark and Hoary Past

Devotion to the past is our undoing. We permit ourselves to be dominated by its ghosts. Bragging of our liberties, of our opportunities, we live under a political and economic rule by the dead.

Our real rulers inhabit the graveyards. From their mildewed tombs they dictate to us. Our own will and judgement count for little. The rebel finds himself confronted by codes and creeds whose authors mock him from the valley of death. And the longer they are dead, the greater the authority they wield. With the lapse of time their blunders become traditions; their crimes are invested with the dignity of precedents.

Now you can surely see why history repeats itself. Not because of some principle of recurrence in human events. No, for the reason that the dead won't lie quiet, but keep on inflicting themselves upon us.

There is no form of imposition more indecent. And that we suffer it, and even encourage it, is a circumstance of melancholy portent. It is scandalous that we, who are grown up in civilization, should have our lives moulded to the cramped moralities that obtained in the infantile days of the race.

It is shocking that 20th century conduct should be determined by the standards of our ape-like fathers.

A Millstone Around Our Necks

The tyranny of the tomb weighs heavily upon us. There'll be no progress worth while till we put the dead in their proper place and take care that they stay there.

To rise from the grave is by no means a miracle—it's a continuous performance. Ghosts are forever emerging from the shadows to play an acting part in our daily affairs. They orate in Congress. They preach from our pulpits. They write leading articles in newspapers. They sit on the bench in the courtroom. They teach in our schools. They everlastingly get the floor in political and labor meetings.

They lay their skeleton fingers on our brains, and we think as they thought, and feel as they felt, and do as they did. We have no chance to be ourselves—to make our own conditions and strive for our own new goals. The past obsesses us. Its ghosts are our masters.

Fellow-travelers, once a day, every law should be repealed, every code and constitution abolished, and the world should give itself a fresh clean slate to write upon and begin all over again.

Onward Toward the Light

I don't want to study the past. There is too much of it in our lives. We toil with the past on our backs. We sleep with the past haunting our dreams. The aim of my philosophy is to drive it back into the grave and roll immovable stones upon it.

When the past has been subdued to the museum stage, I'll take the same sort of interest in it as in the mastodon and the stone-axe of the paleolithic period. When it is safely embalmed in mummy boxes, and permanently stuffed in glass cases, I may walk around it occasionally and read the labels and marvel at the awful things we used to be.

But so long as the past is in our midst interfering in our concerns, dragging us backwards, when we should be going forward, filling our heads with obsolete notions, and our hearts with reactionary sentiments, I'll fight it when I can, and ignore it when I can't.

There're only two schools of thought—the present in which we live, and the future, toward which we strive.

The past is a reincarnated phantom, obscenely oppresing us, and giving to evil shadows substance and breath.

Study it? Not I! I shake my fist in its face defiantly and exclaim in my most intimidating tone of voice:

"Get the hell out of here, you foul spectre!"

SEEING THINGS

Arthur Peters

Our Government, like all others, is incessantly busy instilling in our brains and hearts the love for the country.

Of course, the required love is not confined to such natural beauties as, for instance, Niagara Falls, Mammoth Cave, the Glacier National Park, the Grand Canyon of the Colorado river or to the American genius as builder of bridges, skyscrapers, fine roads and luxurious Pullmans. Indeed, these achievements are generally mentioned in connection with the merits of our governing bodies. To be more exact, to love one's country means, in the last analysis, to obey the orders of those who protect the possessors.

To their minds, that is just and natural since our Government and everything in these United States are the best in the world—at least for us small fry who never had the opportunity to see other countries. Nevertheless, all sentiment or enthusiasm is apt to become fanaticism when inflated unduly by the interested parties.

Worse still, enforced patriotic zeal does not manifest itself only in war time, when the animal passions of the mob are unleashed. We see it right now, in time of official peace and normal wear-and-tear. It is only recently that Congressman Martin Dies, on a tour to investigate "un-American" activities, declared, after a big Americanism meeting in San Francisco, "I never doubt the appreciation of the great majority of Americans for their Government. But to see so many thousands leave their arm chairs to pledge together their love of America is one of the inspiring experiences of a life-time."

And there you are. Americanism all around, no matter what concoction our earthly gods are brewing for us. Blind patriotism is required by our lawmakers, even if it consists of sheepish submission to their schemes and enthusiasm for burlesque parades, ball games, prize fights and lynchings—all intended, of course, to keep us from thinking.

Napoleon said, "Should I allow my soldiers time to think, in a short time I'd have no more soldiers." That is the way our Government appeals.

"Have faith in me," says the man at the shuttle weaving our destinies. Surely. Whatever the texture of the cloth coming out, it is for our good. Our faults which our authorities find with our behavior must be corrected more or less drastically.

Thus, if a girl, through natural repugnance or acquired conviction refuses to kiss our flag, she's guilty of un-Americanism and must be punished or, at least, reprimanded and thereafter watched, for her own salvation, from running astray.

Are you bald-headed and, therefore, would keep your hat on in the open air? That is unethical while the band is playing "Star Spangled Banner." You've got to take it off no matter how windy it is or how severely the sun rays strike your dome.

And suppose your legs are aching from rheumatism, and you think you may enjoy a little music sitting as comfortably as possible and bothering nobody? Well, you had better keep your pains to yourself and get on your feet, lest you arouse the ire of the fanatic ignoramuses previously instructed by our civilized tutors to "treat you rough" at best.

We love to be vulgar, brutal and, at the same time, clownish. The outwardly State religion must be observed, even though it is all a farce, even at the cost of having nothing for which to envy the Fascist countries I sometimes wonder if Mussolini did not get the idea from us and then translated it into practice with a vengeance.

Molded as we are by our ignorant parents' bigotry, by Uncle Sam's schools and by the street crowd's phsychology, it is no surprise that we consider the politics of our sinecure gentlemen unselfish and unbiased.

The state legislature of California, for example, boycotted all of Governor Olson's initiatives intended, perhaps, in good faith, to patch up our damaged economic structure. This was done on the theory that there is no more money in the state treasury, but in reality and principally because Olsen committed the unorthodox sin of saving Mooney from a living tomb—after twenty-two years! Does anybody protest against so concerted an opposition?

That the treasury is empty is shown by the staggering figures representing the money to be spent for armaments—the bloody industry. Uncle Sam's defense bill for the year beginning July 1st appeared likely to reach the unprecedented peace-time total of $1,804,458,552.

Armaments for what, for guarding ourselves, maybe, against blood-thirsty enemies threatening to annihilate us and take away mountains and lakes? Our clever Statesmen know darn well that armaments, far from discouraging aggression, invites it. They have read history and know that failure of the maxim **Si vis pacem pasa bellum.** Every school boy is acquainted with the kind of "peace" the Romans enjoyed through their feverish never-ending preparedness.

One thing is clear; our rulers are preparing for war. They intented to have a share in the coming world slaughter. The manufacturers of war material have to refill their safes, where there is plenty of ominous room perpetually. Oh, boy! What a picnic for all speculators, watching and waiting for the monster carnage bringing in fat profits. We may be proud of our American civilization, of our awe-inspiring warships and aeroplanes. Millions of young men will fall on the battlefields? Oh, well, the vultures will attend to the clearing. Then, there will be war memorials, anniversary speeches and other deserts. Men, women and children will be maimed, shattered to pieces in their own homes? To bother with such insignificant contingencies is unmanly sentimentalism or, in the current fascist expression, "pictism."

Do you hear a real protest against the Government's laying workingmen off their jobs, leaving families in poverty, in order to use the money for destruction and death? No, that would be unpatriotic. We must have faith in our Angel Guardians. Our fate must be in their hands. They know. They tell us that their aim is to keep peace, as Hitler's is. They have been such peace-lovers of late as to lay an embargo on the shipping of ammunition to Spain during the Fascist invasion. Wisely, the embargo was lifted **immediately** after that infamous pope's-feet kisser, ironically named Franco, won the victory over the people struggling for liberty or, at least, for democracy.

Thanks to our civilized training, except for a general murmur of disapproval, there was no serious effective protest against such ultra-venal, unheard-of politics.

Really, we shouldn't be surprised at the callous-

(Continued on Page Three)

THE RIGHT OF ASYLUM

Walter Brooks

According to a story carried by California newspapers on June 5, 1939, "United States District Judge Leon R. Yankwich refused to halt the deportation of two German refugees to their native land." The refugees, Hans Kurth and Gunther Haberman, deserted a German ship in Seattle, on September 3, 1938 and were arrested by immigration inspectors eight days after.

From the newspapers' account it seems that the Court, in denying the writ of habeas corpus, rendered a lengthy opinion on the case at bar. The newspaper from which I am quoting closes the story with the following statement: "The decision of Judge Yankwich is the first judicial determination of the status of political refugees who entered the country illegally and sought to remain." In reality, there have been other judicial determinations of the status of political refugees in the United States because the Right of Asylum has been invoked in other deportation cases of similar nature. The case of Otto Ritcher, for instance, originated here, in San Francisco, in 1934, and was determined judicially in New York in 1937. What gives the present case more judicial weight than others is the lengthy opinion which accompanies the Court's decision.

It seems that the judge adjudicating this case resents critical and dissenting opinions. However, dissention is manifest and properly expressed by sitting judges of higher courts, and I see no reason why the average citizen should not exercise his right of opinion and dissension in a judicial case. Judges while not necessarily humane, are human, and no human being, in modern times, dares to claim infallibility. The only exception is the Pope.

The Court's opinion contends that: "It is contrary to the principle of International law and, generous though one might feel toward the oppressed, I cannot declare a right which Congress has denied." Congress has enacted deportation laws for illegal entry and other causes, but it has never passed a law specifically denying the Right of Asylum. In fact, while not granting political refugees unrestricted admission, it has conceded some special privileges to those seeking a refuge here within the provisions of the immigration laws. Immigrants claiming to be political and religious refugees are exempt from the literacy test.

International law and Congress have very little to do with the Right of Asylum, which can be considered an unwritten law. This law has been respected by the people of the world from time immemorial; Church and State, though tacitly and unwillingly, have recognized it at various times. It was reserved for our high-pitched self-boasting civilization to trample upon, ignore and deny it. The Right of Asylum has a tradition which has been trailing human progress from the cavern to the skyscraper. Neither courts nor legislators can obliterate it.

Confining ourselves to our own country, we find that, despite the occasional witch burning fury of the Salem townsfolk, the Right of Asylum was part and parcel of the American colonists and we come across it from early American history to the World War. Although quarreling over property rights in slaves, yet the early American colonists caused the Right of Asylum to be written in their statute books. In the "Body of Liberties of the Massachusetts Colony in New England", enacted by the General Court, in 1641, we find the following: "89. If any people of other nations professing the true Christian religion shall flee to us from the tyranny or oppression of their persecutors, or from famine, wars or the like necessary compulsory causes, they shall be entertained and succored among us, according to that power and prudence God shall give us." Every attempt to curtail the Right of Asylum has been resisted and fought by true Americans, and the most prominent figures in American history have raised their voices in its support and defense: Madison, Washington, Jefferson and others. Even the two major political parties of the country—whether for true love or as a matter of expediency we shall not discuss—have upheld the Right of Asylum in their respective platforms.

In the case at issue, the Court stresses the fact that Congress has adopted a policy of restricted immigration. True. The Congress of the United States has enacted all inclusive deportation laws which have made it possible to deport from this country political refugees and non-citizens guilty of political activities, but it has not dared to openly and specifically repudiate the Right of Asylum. In fact, it has adopted the jesuitical practice of paying valueless homage to that old tradition while enacting reactionary legislation completely contrary to the spirit and the letter of the Right of Asylum. The wisdom of Congress is a problematic possibility, and it seems poor expediency for a jurist to invoke it.

The Court went further: "If Asylum be considered a right for political refugees, we should find some source of it. I find no law or statute of the United States giving it." Of course not. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish in a dispatch dated May 22, 1876, quoted by Prof. Moore in his "Digest of International Law," states: "Neither the extradition clause in the treaty of 1794 nor in that of 1842, contains any reference to immunity for political offenses or to the protection of asylum for political refugees. "The public sentiment of both countries made it unnecesary". (The Right of Asylum, by Charles Recht).

There are many precedents where the Right of Asylum has been recognized and conceded by our country, outside the complicated realm of the law. The statement of Secretary March in reference to the famous Koszta case, in 1853, has become a shining example of independence and self-respect: "To surrender political offenders . . . is not a duty; but on the contrary, compliance with such a demand would be considered a dishonorable subserviency to a foreign power, and an act meriting the reprobation of mankind." When Assitant Secretary of Labor Louis T. Post cancelled the deportation order against Enrique Flores Magon in 1920—the very year when the infamous deportation laws were severely ammended—he did not look into any statute book to apply the principle of the Right of Asylum. He simply was satisfied with the fact that Magon was a refugee from Mexico and that he would have been persecuted, and perhaps executed, if returned there.

Of course, these people who applied and upheld the Right of Asylum must have been influenced by their humane and generous traits rather than by the soulless, mean and intricate trickery of modern jurisprudence. However, a liberal, generous and understanding judge could still uphold the Right of Asylum on legal and constitutional grounds and be at peace with his judicial conscience. In fact, as it has been demonstrated, the Right of Asylum has been considered an inherent right by the people of this nation, and it has been recognized until the beginning of this century. Article 9 of the Constitution reads as follows: "The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." In this light, the Right of Asylum can be upheld constitutionally as one of those rights "retained by the people." Furthermore, such a judge, with a pronounced inclination for more judicial suitability, could stay the execution of the deportation order indefinitely, or until such time when the deportation of the refugees could be carried out with no danger for their life and liberty. There is nothing in the deportation laws which states WHEN a deportation order should be executed.

As a layman concerned with the justice and human social principles involved in the issue, I admire the position taken by Victor Hugo in favor of the French refugees in Belgium in 1871: "Pro jure contro legem." I am sure every true lover of justice will take the same position. Hans Kurth, Gunther Haberman and other unfortunates fleeing from the tyrannies of their native countries should be afforded asylum in this country.

Against the rattlings of a reactionary legislature and judiciary I hurl a beautiful magnificent invitation expressing the true feelings of the people when not tainted by the degenerative political masturbations of bureaucrats and politicians. It is the inscription embossed on the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty which, unless polished off, neither reactionary pieces of legislation nor judicial distortion will ever be able to obliterate:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore;
Send these, the homeless, tempest host, to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

Sacco and Vanzetti

Sacco and Vanzetti were more to me than two victims of the hate and fear of radicals. They were friends whom I had come to know intimately from many visits to them in prison dating way back to before their trials —friends whose motives and high social principles I had come to respect and admire. Up to the end they were curious about my observations, in Italy and Russia particularly, and their letters were far more devoted to comment on dictatorships than to their own fate. Anarchism as a philosophy of a society without violence or compulsion is even more consuming a faith than the disciplined creeds of Socialism and Communism, for it demands intense personal feeling unsupported by organized power. Sacco and Vanzetti lived their faith in every word and act, and it sustained them to the chair. Vanzetti, much more the thinker of the two, sent me from prison for some months his pencilled scripts of a translation from a work of Proudhon's so poorly done in his inadequate English that it could not be used, but testifying eloquently to the kind of passion that consumed him even in the face of death.

—Roger N. BALDWIN.

* * *

If Sacco and Vanzetti could speak to us today, they would urge us not to spend time in lamenting over them, but to work to prevent similar miscarriages of justice in the future. Anti-Red hysteria still exists. It is skilfully cultivated; and it blazes up here and there in some local act of injustice and cruelty. The mean and ungenerous ill-will against foreigners is also widespread. Constant efforts are made to secure new legislation, state and federal, that can be used for purposes of oppression. Let the blood of these martyrs go to strengthen the cause of justice and freedom.

("Unity") —Alice Stone BLACKWELL.

SEEING THINGS

(Continued from page Two)

ness of our rulers. Business is that way, and governing is a business like any other. When you meet certain gentlemen in a train bound for Washington, they are going on business.

We are educated in a way to think that when our President interrupts his fishing pastime to return to the care of the State, he has in mind the welfare of us little people. Well, nothing is impossible. In fact, he says so himself. He says also that he loves peace of mind and the statue of Liberty, which makes the world go round.

But, of course, should he be forced by our glorious financiers to go to war, he is determined to save us from the Fascists and once again make the world safe for Democracy—as our savior, Wilson, did. I do not blame him. Our Government is not yet officially Fascist: therefore, noblesse-oblige that the President of the best country in the world join England and France.

If this planet is capricious, sick and crooked, it is nobody's fault. The important thing is that our business goes on. Soon we'll have to buy, besides other tit-bits, beautiful gas masks. Soon we'll have to shut out mouths, obey and fight. Good luck to heroes and profiteers.

"Upon the will and instinct of the proletariat reposes such hope as we are justified in retaining for the future progress of humanity through and beyond the conflict which now divides the world."

—Vincent SHEEAN in "Not Peace but a Sword".

Graham Unlawful Search Case Tried

The suit sponsored by the Southern California Branch of the A. C. L. U. against four immigrant inspectors, charging an unlawful search wihtout a search warrant of the home of Marcus Graham, philosophical anarchist and editor, was heard on July 28, 1939 before Federal Judge David Ling of Arizona. Judge Ling is hearing cases assigned on Federal Judge William P. James' court calendar.

Because Graham persisted in refusing to recognize political sovereignity, the suit is in the name of Margaret Malley, formerly A. C. L. U. secretary.

From the witness stand Graham told of his arrest by four immigration officers, and that two of them entered his room and carried off numerous papers and documents, many of them several years old. The officials all admitted the taking away of Graham's papers, but claimed that the seizure of the property was not from Graham's home but from his person, and that the taking was not for the purpose of using the documents as evidence against Graham but solely to keep it safely for Graham, to be returned to him upon his request.

The legal position taken by Graham's counsel is that the testimony of the arresting immigration officials is false in that it is incredible that Graham would be carrying on his person a large quantity of miscellaneous papers and documents, some of them over two years old; that in any event, the seizure of papers and documents from the person of one arrested is a denial of constitutional liberty if the arrest itself is unlawful; and that Graham's arrest, having been based upon a warrant of deportation over 20 years old, was illegal in that the warrant had become void, and as decided by Federal Judge Yankwich, "functus officio."

At the end of the hearing Judge Ling took the case under submission awaiting the filing of briefs.

Graham was represented by A. C. L. U. counsel A. L. Wirin and Lee B. Stanton; Ralph Lazarus, Assistant United States Attorney, appeared in behalf of the immigration authorities.

—The Open Forum, Aug. 5, 1939.

MAN!

A monthly Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

Subscription Price: $1.00 per year, Six months Fifty Cents.—Sample Copies Free Upon Request

MAN! invites the collaboration of all writers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, poems and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscript is desired sufficient postage should be included.

Administration and Editorial Address:

MAN!

P. O. Box 971 Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.

IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

The Spectre of Fascism

When "Father" Coughlin's followers wrecked the Debs School of New York City in June of this year, a fascist campaign of terrorization—like the terrorist campaigns preceding the advent of fascism in Italy and nazism in Germany—was inaugurated.

The "Nation" (July 22, 1939) comes forward with a series of charges against Mayor La Guardia's police force. Chief among the charges are that not less than 6000 police are enrolled in the Coughlinite fascist front, that police are relieving vendors of "Social Justice" (Coughlin's organ) during lunch hour and that police simply look on at acts of violence committed against antifascists.

Mayor La Guardia's answer to these serious charges is to the effect that it is not so. The mayor's association with fascism and fascists is closer than some of his liberal and labor supporters would have us believe. Mayor La Guardia has never as yet denounced Mussolini and his reign of terror; he supported the Italian Red Cross during the Italian fascist campaign in this country to aid Mussolini's raping of Ethiopia. Mayor La Guardia recently expressed his admiration for fascism at the dedication of the Italian pavilion at the New York World's Fair.

The American Labor Party, which campaigned for Mayor La Guardia, has thus far remained silent on the Mayor's pro-fascist leanings. Because of the great number of anti-fascist members in the Garment Workers, whose finances are being used by the American Labor Party, it is in order to ask whether the large Garment Workers Union is going to be allowed to duplicate the treachery which the labor movements in Italy and Germany carried on before the advance of fascism in those countries. In other words, will the thousands of members of the needle trade unions allow their leaders to help fascism gain hold in this country?

We entertain no hope whatsoever that the misleaders of labor, comprising the American Labor Party, will act differently from their brethren in Italy and Germany. The sooner the multitude of people whose moral and material support is demanded by their union leaders and made use of by the American Labor Party to protect the careers of sinister politicians such as Mayor La Guardia, the sooner the workers realize this —that much sooner will they see that they have made the mistake of putting their fate in the hands of labor politicians who are making the spectre of fascism in this country a clear picture.

Only the workers—and not their leaders— can stop the fascist menace which is threatening us here today.

The Federal Theatre Project

Liberals and radicals of various schools, who climbed aboard Mr. Roosevelt's "new deal" bandwagon, find themselves in utter consternation. The so-called representatives of the people have killed the pet child of the liberals and radicals who had turned democrats in the naive expectation of accomplishing something worthwhile under the wings of the present administration.

Editors, dramatists, actors and critics all implored the members of Congress to refrain from putting an end to the Federal Theatre Project. But all their pleadings were fruitless; they were unheeded. The very representatives of those who implored and begged for the continuation of this enterprise closed their ears to the demands of their constituents.

Why was the Federal Theatre Project ended? No one can deny that both morally and financially it met with more or less success. Its greatest attribute was the fact that it revived the stage and the play as a forceful means of entertainment and propaganda. More than anything else, it was its moral success which brought about its finis.

Grumblings and complaints against the project really began with the presentation of "One Third of a Nation" in New York. This was a play based on a statement made by President Roosevelt to the effect that one third of the nation is ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed. The reactionaries in Congress shouted that this was "red" propaganda. And the play was quietly withdrawn from the repertory of the Federal Theatre Project throughout the country.

However, the play which really shocked and increased the ire of the people's representatives was Maxwell Anderson's "Gods of the Lightning", a play depicting the frame-up of the Sacco and Vanzetti trial in all its ugliness. The honorable members of Congress became red with fury, for here was the Federal Theatre Project denouncing and exposing the very government responsible for its birth. And the "gentlemen" of Congress were correct.

Art, in any shape or form is the depiction of beauty, truth and justice. Therefore, how can art be associated or connected with the State, which was founded and perpetuated in order to protect and preserve a system of society wherein beauty, truth and justice are not to be enjoyed and realized by the multitudes?

Even at its very best, any form of Federal Theatre Project must sooner or later succumb to a dictatorial reign of suppression and a state controlled art. This has taken place in Russia, Italy and Germany. Our own "democracy" has now contributed another fact to prove our statements.

What has been said of the Federal Theatre Project can well be applied to every other art project carried on by the government. They must all labor under the constant fear of censorship and suppression. Finally, they will all meet with extinction at the hands of the "representatives of the people".

The fact that the theatre and other art projects of the federal government have succeeded, morally more than in any other way, is enough to justify our stating that when people will live in a free society, they will be trully able do depict and enjoy art that really expresses beauty, truth and justice. Until that time, all talk of true art is mere meaningless prattle.

The Refugee Problem

A cable coming from Holland tells of the plight of three steamers loaded with Jewish refugees from Germany. The steamers themselves are unsafe, for they were abandoned by their owners. Some of the people aboard these ships attempted to enter Holland, but they were refused admission. Then, the steamers tried to land in Palestine, but this, too, did not work out. So, this human cargo aboard three unsafe steamers floats along the waters. And as they float along, many of the distressed heartbroken refugees bring their plight to an end by a simple act—suicide.

This situation reminds us of a similar plight when 918 Jewish refugees were refused admission to Cuba in June of this year.

President Roosevelt has invited the governments represented at the recent Evan Conference to meet in the nation's capital next autumn for the purpose of discussing once again the refugee problem. When one realizes what was accomplished or not accomplished at the Evan Conference, one will readily see what can be expected of the conference to take place in this country within the next few months. All the governments represented at the recent conference expressed sympathy and pity for Jewish and all other political refugees; not one of them, however, showed willingness and readiness to open its doors to the refugees.

Every government has, at some time or other, enacted laws which categorize sincere honest men and women as racial or political refugees. When representatives of these governments assemble under the false presumption of alleviating conditions which they themselves created through their laws, we can say that this is the peak of brazen and heartless boldness. Therefore, it is obvious that no sane person can or should hope for any aid or relief from such a set-up.

England, France and the United States, the true "democracies" of the world, are not to be excluded from this set-up. In fact, these very "democracies" are waging rabid yet unheralded campaigns to deport, expel or persecute, in some way or other, their political and radical refugees. How can one expect them, therefore, to show consideration for a carload of human beings who are dirfting along the waters of the Atlantic—men, women and children who have been driven away from their homes and their families?

The crux of the whole situation should be clearly understood by this time. Hitler can immediately stop the persecution of the Jews in Germany if the "democracies" would bring pressure to bear on him. This, however, would require sincerity on the part of the "democratic" powers, an attribute which cannot be assigned to them. After all, neither fascism or nazism could have progressed and advanced so swiftly had it not been for the underhand approval and support given them by the powers of England, France, United States and Russia. Yes, even the "proletariat" dictatorship of Russia closes its doors to the harmless refugees or fully investigates each case while it carries on business transactions with Germany and Italy.

We feel that the refugee problem will be solved only when the social problem itself is solved. Until then there will always be the political and racial refugee who, like the Jew, has been the target for persecutions, tortures of all forms and utter unbearable unhappiness.

"Moral Re-Armament"

Los Angeles, the city of the angels, has recently gone through a religious revival campaign almost surpassing anything ever staged by the late Billy Sunday. The fact that "performances" similar to the one staged in Los Angeles are being enacted in other parts of the country calls for an editorial comment from us.

The leading role in this series of "Moral Re-armament" performances is played by one Frank N. D. Buchman. His first performance was given in London, England, on May 29, 1938. In the arrangement of his "act", Mr. Buchman is far shrewder and more pernicious than was Billy Sunday. For example, Mr. Buchman arrives in Los Angeles, a metropolitan city. The daily press, for reasons which in the near future will be obvious, readily offers its pages to his "work". Mr. Buchman then makes his appearance at luncheons tendered him by the Chamber of Commerce and other pay-triotic organizations. Later, he goes before the City Council where he receives an audition and approval. Then the California Newspaper Publishers Association does its part by arranging a luncheon to which are invited Harry Chandler of the infamous Los Angeles Times, Bill Rowell (supposedly ex-communist) and Tod Sloan (supposedly ex-anarchist). We might add here that in all our contacts with the anarchist movement we have never ventured upon a physiognomy bearing a resemblance to Mr. Sloan or answering to the name he carries. He supposedly hails from England, as does Mr. Buchman. We suspect that Sloan is a "phoney"—a part of Buchman's act.

The show, incidentally is climaxed by a hughe rally and mass meeting.

What is this "moral re-armament" campaign all about? Let Mr. Buchman speak for himself:

> "Suppose everybody cared enough, everybody shared enough, wouldn't everybody have enough? . . . When labor, management and capital become partners under God's guidance, then industry takes its true place in the national life".
>
> —Los Angeles Evening News, July 12, 1939.

With the grace of "God" the industrial robbers of life and happiness are given carte blanche. No wonder that every ruthless exploiter of labor has joined Mr. Buchman's ranks!

For fakers such as Mr. Buchman, who has covered his doings with the cloak of religion, Webster has coined an especially appropriate word: CHARLATAN.

Those who may have been taken in by the antics of Mr. Buchman need be reminded that if everybody cared enough and everybody shared enough, Mr. Buchman, Mr. Chandler and company would get off our backs and begin to perform useful tasks for society.

Censorship In The United States

The present administration is taking every opportunity to inform the public that it staunchly upholds the principle of freedom of the press. The ordinary reader of the vast number of daily papers believes this to be the truth.

Readers of this journal, however, are aware of the fact that this is far from the truth. As a matter of record, it was the present administration which carried on a campaign of intimidation against readers of MAN! It was also the present administration which carried on deportation proceedings against Ferrero and Sallitto and which has been persecuting our editor, Marcus Graham.

A new case must now be added to the administration's annals in its campaign of suppressing freedom of the press. The victim in this case is "Revolt", organ of the Revolutionary Workers League, a journal which —like MAN!— is the voice of a minority group.

Since January 7 of this year, every issue of "Revolt" has been held up for a week or two at the Detroit post office where Postmaster Roscoe B. Huston passes judgement as to whether or not the paper can go through the mails. The issue of January 7, 1939, was suppressed by the post office presumably because it contained passages from the Communist Manifesto. Now the Communist Manifesto has been on sale in scores of book shops; it has been printed by a Chicago book concern; it has gone through the U. S. mails for many years. Why, then, does the government suddenly pounce upon the paper "Revolt"?

In our estimation, the revolutionary nature of "Revolt" is the only reason why the U. S. governement has suddenly decided that it wants to see the paper out of existence. Thus, the "liberal" administration has made a definite move to silence its voice.

With the exception of the American Civil Liberties Union and a few libertarian publications, there seems to be a unanimous concerted silence on the part of the liberal and radical press for the plight of "Revolt". Perhaps these liberal and radical publications do not realize that some day—whenever the government deems it fit to resort to such measures— they, too, will undergo the campaign of persecution similar to that dealt to MAN! and "Revolt".

Therefore, we are justified in saying that any radical or liberal publication which chooses to remain silent instead of raising its voice of protest against this campaign to squelch freedom of the press is actually abetting the government in its rabid, yet unheralded campaign.

Marcus GRAHAM

* * *

Bourgeois writers cannot help being false. They are vulgar writers perfected. I don't believe in our educated class, which is hypocritical, false, hysterical, badly educated and indolent . . . I believe in individual people, I see salvation in individual personalities.

—ANTON CHEKHOV

Labor and Deportation

(Continued from Page One)

against whom it is aimed, effects every person in the country.

While the workers are being pitted against each other by petty factional interests of a spineless leadership, reaction advances swiftly—fostered, aided and abetted by powerful organizations of industrialists, farmers and self-styled patriots. By singling out Harry Bridges, the tentacles of reaction have reached into the midst of the same bureaucracy which has condoned and approved deportation of non-citizens for years. However, there is no hope that the meaningful occurrence will serve as a lesson. Harry Bridges has been submitted to an arrogant inquisition of mind and soul which has nothing to envy to the universally abhorred Spanish Inquisition. For this he can partly thank his labor brethren.

Bridges as a man has the inalienable right to entertain and express any and all social and political views. Because of a powerful defense, he might technically be exonerated from the charge and set free. However, his inalienable right cannot be vindicated by the present legal procedure. The overdue vindication of this right can be expected if the workers and the people of America awaken to the hidden dangers of these infamous laws and decidedly work for their complete abolition.

W. B.

BENJAMIN RICKETSON TUCKER

Steven T. Byington

Comrade Steven T. Byington, the author of the biographical study of Benjamin R. Tucker, which we are happy to present before our readers has been an associate editor of "Liberty" —founded by Tucker in 1881. Comrade Byington has also translated into English, among other works, the two classics on anarchism: Dr. Paul Eltzbacher's 'Anarchism" and Max Stirner's "The Ego and His Own"—both published by Tucker.

For the first part of the life of Benjamin R. Tucker I am dependent on printed and published sources; but then, so would most people be.

Benjamin Ricketson Tucker, whom Eltzbacher lists as one of the seven great leaders anarchism has had in the world, was born April 7, 1854, at South Dartmouth, Mass., a natural home of nonconformist and polemic religion, on the boundary between the Lotlardish Pilgrim Fathers and the Baptists and Quakers of Rhode Island. Tucker did not at any time within my knowledge believe in any form or religion; but he had the nonconformist and polemic temper all right, and he lived up to tradition of those martyr sects that were always facing persecution for their unpopular faiths. The religious antecedents of his home may also have helped to give him those tastes which caused him never to use tobacco, nor, in his earlier life, alcoholic drinks. After middle age he took to using wine and small glasses of cordial, but went back to his teetotalism after several years, I believe.

His alma mater was the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. When he came of age he came into possession of an inheritance of a thousand dollars or so, which he promptly sank in founding and publishing the **Radical Review** at New Badford. In one year the money ran out and the **Radical Review** came to an end. He then took service with the **Boston Globe**, with which he was connected "in various capacities from a printer to editorial writer," says the **Globe**, for eleven years. In 1889 he left his position on the **Globe** (as copyreader at that time, I believe), though he later, in New York, told me he could have that desk back whenever he chose.

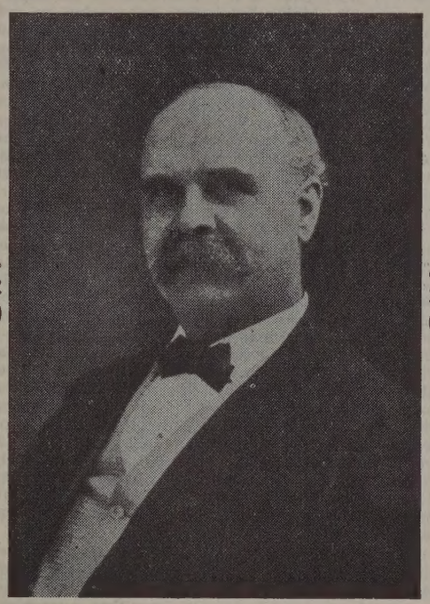
In 1892 he went to New York as a member of the editorial staff of the **Engineering Magazine.** This lasted ten years, according to his autobiographical note in Who's Who in America; but surely not as full-time employment, for in 1894 he was in want of a job, and saw an advertisement for a place that he thought he could well fill. Application was to be by mail to a post-office box. He thought he would have a better chance by a personal interview. So, having just then nothing more urgent to do, he haunted the post-office corridors and looked into the glass front of that box several times a day until he saw in it a letter that had fallen so as to show the address. It was to the **Home Journal,** the paper founded by N. P. Willis. Off went Tucker to the office, landed the position of associate editor, and remained such for five years, receiving high praise in a farewell editorial of the **Home Journal** when he left it.

He left it in this way. He had always a Balzac-like faith in his power to succeed in bold business undertakings. He once told me he was sorry he had devoted himself to the preaching of anarchism so early; he was sure he could have done more for the cause by first making a million dollars and then putting that money into the anarchist campaign. I never thought he was right in that idea. Well, in New York he planned the **Tucker Publishing Company** to publish cheap pamphlets, each consisting of an article or story translated from a foreign periodical. He got friends to take stock enough to make a capital of about ten thousand dollars, and left the **Home Journal** for this undertaking. It was much like the idea of the little blue books with which Haldeman-Julius later did so much; but Tucker depended on selling through middlemen, which, as Haldeman-Julius also found, was a failure. The company lasted less than a year.

How Tucker made his living during his last years in New York I do not know. He once told me that he expected to inherit a competence when his mother died, though he neither desired her death nor expected it to come soon. I suppose it was this inheritance that enabled him in 1907 to retire from activity and move to southern France and later to Monaco, where he died on June 22, 1939. Monaco seemed to give him satisfaction to the end of his life, but not after his death; for both he and his surviving family desired that his body should be cremated, and it was found that a resident of Monaco could not be cremated.

Tucker was introduced to sexual life by Victoria Woodhull Martin, as, I am told, is interestingly set forth in a chapter he wrote for her biography. He went to Europe with her, when he was nineteen if I have my chronology right. He not only opposed legal marriage on the ground that the state should not interfere in such matters, but opposed the ideal of monogamous relations even by mutual consent; he held the sound ideal to be that every person of either sex should have relations with several of the other. But in the end his friendship with Pearl Johnson ripened into a relation not unlike a marriage, and she was spoken of as his wife by those who did not care to make elaborate explanations, though she never took the name of Tucker. A daughter, Oriole Johnson Tucker, was born to them in New York; and when he went to France both Pearl and Oriole went with him and remained with him. Both survive.

His first start in public life was as a campaigner for Horace Greeley's election to the presidency. But in that same year he made an acquaintance who influenced his life more than Victoria Woodhull Martin; he met Josiah Warren and learned the principles of anarchism from him. Always revering Warren as



ALBERT RICKETSON TUCKER
(April 7, 1854 - June 22, 1939)

the first founder of anarchism, he soon learned to look to Proudhon as its literary exponent. He planned an edition of Proudhon's works in English, but it was so unremunerative that after the second volume he had to postpone its continuation indefinitely.

Tucker had not a competent knowledge of any foreign language except French (his translations from Russian writers were from French editions, like most translations from Russian to English at that date), but he was a rather notable translator from French. I cannot thoroughly commend his theories of translation as they were displayed in his oversight of my work, but when he was working with his own hand his instinct was sound and his work was excellent. He regarded French as a fountain of light, and assumed the French spelling to be the standard for correct English spelling of Russian names, so that he not only put a final silent e on "Kropotkine" etc. but doubled the dot on the i in Tolstoi's name. He used to publish his translations himself, and give them their send-off by going round to the Boston stores as his own drummer. In Boston he was rather successful in this business, but in New York he did not make equally good contacts.

His greatest days were in Boston, where he began the publication of **Liberty** (no relation whatever, I hasten to say, to the present periodical of that name) in 1881. In Boston he took the lead in founding the Anarchists' Club. Under the influence of Lysander Spooner the Club adopted as its formula for the practical working of anarchist society Spooner's principle that the jury should be the judge not only of the facts and of the law but of the merits of the law, and that the result of a hung jury should be the discharge of the prisoner, so that nobody should ever be punished, nor dispossessed of any property of which he had possession, unless local public opinion was practically unanimous in agreeing that this ought to be done. I could never make him agree that this would give full licence to lynchers as long as even a sixth of the local population was on their side, so that in any region where part of the people were of that temper we should have either local government by lynchers or local civil war between opposed parties of lynchers, even if a strong majority were against lynching. And yet, since Tucker recognized that lynching is government, and since he never objected to organized and systematic action, I should have thought it more in harmony with his principles that lynching should be repressed by force wherever a strong enough force to repress it could be found.

Tucker defined government as forcible aggression, and distinguished all defensive action from it. He was ready to let the conception of defense include the punishment of aggressors. He held that human liberty includes the right to hold as property the fruits of labor, and that thievery which dispossesses one of such property is government. Thus he did not object to police forces, courts, and jails, provided only that they would confine themselves to the defense of persons and legitimate property and that they would not force unwilling persons to employ them and pay them. As the existing police never conformed to either of these conditions, he was solidly against it.

It should not be supposed that Tucker disregarded economic issues. He held that economic problems would be solved by free action under liberty, and specifically maintained by four great monopolies which organized government exists to support.

First and foremost, from Tucker's point of view, the money monopoly. His remedy for this was Proudhon's Banque du Peuple, generally known in Tucker's movement by the name William B. Greene gave it, Mutual Banking. Permit this, and in Tucker's belief the rate of interest would drop to merely the cost of bookkeeping, etc. of a bank, which he estimated at half of one per cent; then anybody who wanted capital for any purpose would be able to get it from the bank at this nominal cost, and the tyranny of capital would fall. From my point of view, the mutual bank is practicable if expertly handled, and would be equivalent to a great increase in the supply of capital, which, under the ordinary operation of supply and demand, would heavily reduce so near to zero, or wipe out the economic difference between having capital to start with and not having it, I could not see.

Second, the land monopoly, which seems to be what Proudhon meant by "Property is robbery." For this Tucker's remedy was that the tenure of land should depend on occupancy and use—substantially the principle of the well-known common law of prospectors for gold, that the first claimant of a site shall have a reasonable time to start working on it, and thenceforth shall own it as long as he continues to work it, but if he ceases to occupy it it is free to the next comer to take up. To maintain this principle he would go so far as to rule, despite his law of property in the products of labor, that if a man builds a house on land and then lets another man live in the house, the occupant becomes owner not only of the land but of the house, though the house is the product of the other fellow's labor. I do not think Tucker ever fairly faced the difficulties of applying this formula to city land, or recognized that the urbanization of our life makes the land problem change from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban issue even faster than population shifts from the predominance of the rural to the predominance of the urban. He contented himself with the view that liberty would find a way to settle all difficulties, coupled with the view that his formula was the infallible definition of liberty and its validity could not be shaken by pointing out how largely its operation would fetter practical liberty. His chief objection to the single tax was that its application would set up a fund, collected and administered on behalf of the alleged rights of persons who in some instances did not consent to the collection and administration, and that this fund would inevitably tend to monopolize the services for which it was spent.

Third, the patent monopoly—in Tucker's language "copyright". Tucker lumped together the patent laws and copyright laws as identical in principle, just as the United States Constitution lumps them together, regardless of the agreement that if one man had not invented the telephone some other man would soon have done it, while if one man had not written "Huckleberry Finn" nobody else would ever have done it, so that the patent on the machine restricts the opportunity of a future inventor while the copyright on the books does not restrict the opportunity of a future author, and regardless of the further fact that patents are obviously a great factor in the structure of capitalist monopoly, while literary and artistic copyright are obviously a small item in it.

And fourth, the tariff monopoly. Tucker of course, notwithstanding his enthusiasm for Horace Greeley, despised protectionism as heartily as Adam Smith himself. By the way, is the term "intelligentsia" reasonable applicable to such "radicals" as say that our present mess is what we get from having lived according to Adam Smith, when we have all the time kept the protective tariff going higher and higher? Is there a bigger hypocrite than the conservative who professes to be opposed on principle to governmental interference in business, and at the same time upholds the protective tariff? And what are the political and economic prospects of a country where all the effective-looking leadership is in the hands of men who display one or the other of these types of illiteracy, or at least acquiesce in one of them?

As to how we shall get rid of the government Tucker argued unanswerably that it is imbecility for anarchists to challenge the government by violence, since that is the sphere in which the government has the greatest superiority of resources, and that we shall occupy the most advantageous position by keeping the contest in the field of ideas, of which the governmentalists have only an Ersatz supply. He sometimes talked as if we could convince an effective proportion of the population by words without acts, and sometimes as if the development of the American

WHY I AM AN ANARCHIST

Benjamin R. Tucker

Why am I an Anarchist? That is the question which the editor of the "Twentieth Century" has requested me to answer for his readers. I comply; but, to be frank, I find it a difficult task. If the editor or one of his contributors had only suggested a reason why I should be anything else than an Anarchist, I am sure I should have no difficulty in disputing the argument. And does not this very fact, after all, furnish itself the best of all reasons why I should be an Anarchist—namely, the impossibility of discovering any good reason for being anything else? To show the invalidity of the claims of State Socialism, Nationalism, Communism, Single-taxism, the prevailing capitalism, and all the numerous forms of Archism existing or proposed, is at the same blow to show the validity of the claims of Anarchism. Archism once denied, only Anarchism can be affirmed. That is a matter of logic.

But evidently the present demand upon me is not to be met satisfactorily in this way. The error and puerility of State Socialism and all the despotisms to which it is akin have been repeatedly and effectively shown in many ways and in many places. There is no reason why I should traverse this ground with the readers of the Twentieth Century, even though it is all sufficient for proof of Anarchism. Something positive is wanted, I suppose.

Well, then, to start with the broadest generalization. I am an Anarchist because Anarchism and the philosophy of Anarchism are conducive to my own happiness. "Oh, yes, if that were the case, of course we should all be Anarchists," the Archist will shout with one voice—at least all that are emancipated from religious and ethical superstitions—"but you beg the question; we deny that Anarchism is conducive to our happiness."

Do you, my friends? Really, I don't believe you when you say so; or, to put it more courteously, I don't believe you will say so when you once understand Anarchism.

For what are the conditions of happiness? Of perfect happiness, many. But the primal and main conditions are few and simple. Are they not liberty and material prosperity? Is it not essential to the happiness of every highly developed being that he and those around him should be free, and that he and those around him should know no anxiety regarding the satisfaction of their material needs? It seems idle to deny it, and, in the event of denial, it would seem equally idle to argue it. No amount of evidence that human happiness has increased with human liberty would convince a man incapable of appreciating the value of liberty without reinforcement by induction. And to all but such a man it is also self-evident that of these two conditions—liberty and wealth—the former takes precedence as a factor in the production of happiness. It would be but a poor apology for happiness that either factor alone would give, if it could not produce nor be accompanied by the other; but, on the whole, much liberty and little wealth would be preferable to much wealth and little liberty. The complaint of Archistic Socialists that the Anarchists are bourgeois is true to this extent and no further—that, great as is their detestation for a bourgeois society, they prefer its partial liberty to the complete slavery of State Socialism. For one, I certainly can look with more pleasure—no, with less pain—upon the present seething, surging struggle, in which some are up and some are down, some falling and some rising, some rich and many poor, but none completely fettered or altogether hopeless of a better future, than I could upon Mr. Thaddeus Wakeman's ideal, uniform, and miserable community of teamy, placid, and slavish oxen.

To repeat, then, I do not believe that many of the Archists can be brought to say in so many words that liberty is not the prime condition of happiness, and in that case they cannot deny that Anarchism, which is but another name for liberty, is conducive to happiness. This being true, I have not begged the question and I have already established my case. Nothing more is needed to justify my Anarchistic creed. Even if some form of Archism could be devised that would create infinite wealth, and distribute it with perfect equity (pardon the absurd hypothesis of a distribution of the infinite), still the fact that in itself it is a denial of the prime condition of happiness, would compel its rejection and the acceptance of its sole alternative, Anarchism.

But, though this is enough, it is not all. It is enough for justification, but not enough for inspiration. The happiness possible in any society that does not improve upon the present in the matter of distribution of wealth, can hardly be described as beatific. No prospect can be positively alluring that does not promise both requisites of happiness—liberty and wealth. Now, Anarchism does promise both. In fact, it promises the second as a result of the first, and happiness as the result of both.

This brings us into the sphere of economics. Will liberty abundantly produce and equitably distribute wealth? That is the remaining question to consider. And certainly it cannot be adequately treated in a single article in the "Twentieth Century". A few generalizations are permissable at most.

What causes the inequitable distribution of wealth? "Competition," cry the State Socialists. And if they are right, then, indeed, we are in a bad box, for we shall, in that case, never be able to get wealth without sacrificing liberty, and liberty we must have, whether or no. But luckily, they are not right. It is not competition, but monopoly, that deprives labor of its product. Wages, inheritances, gifts, and gambling aside, every process by which men acquire wealth, rests upon a monopoly, a prohibition, a denial of liberty. Interest and rent of buildings rest on the banking monopoly, a prohibition of competition in finance, the denial of the liberty to issue currency; ground rent rests on the land monopoly, the denial of the liberty to use vacant land; profits in excess of wages rest upon the tariff and patent monopolies, the prohibition or limitation of competition in the industries and arts. There is but one exception, and that a comparatively trivial one; I refer to economic rent as distinguished from monopolistic rent. This does not rest upon a denial of liberty; it is one of nature's inequalities. It probably will remain with us always. Complete liberty will very much lessen it; of that I have no doubt. But I do not expect it to ever reach the vanishing point to which Mr. M'Cready looks forward so confidently. At the worst, however, it will be a small matter, no more worth consideration in comparison with the liberty than the slight disparity that will always exist in consequence of inequalities of skill.

If, then, all these methods of extortion from labor rest upon denials of liberty, plainly the remedy consists in the realization of liberty. Destroy the banking monopoly, establish freedom in finance, and down will go interest on money through the beneficent influence of competition. Capital will be set free, business will flourish, new enterprises will start, labor will rise to a level with its product. And it is the same with the other monopolies. Abolish the tariffs, issue no patents, take down the bars from unoccupied land, and labor will straightway rush in and take possession of its own. Then mankind will live in freedom and in comfort.

That is what I want to see; that is what I love to think of. And because Anarchism will give this state of things, I am an Anarchist. To assert that it will is not to prove it; that I know. But neither can it be disproved by mere denial. I am waiting for some one to show me by history, fact, or logic that men have social wants superior to liberty and wealth or that any form of Archism will secure them these wants. Until then the foundations of my political and economic creed will remain as I have outlined them in this brief article.

WHY I AM AN ANARCHIST by Benj. R. Tucker, was first printed in **The Twentieth Century**, New York, (1892), a radical weekly under the editorship of Hugh O. Pentecost.

---

habit of disregarding inconvenient laws would, with the help of all good men, bring government to an end by a more or less spontaneous process. But he had the idea of a more active method: he had formulated Gandhi's principle of revolution by non-cooperation before Gandhi's time. Of course neither Tucker nor Gandhi antedated Thoreau; but Thoreau did not conceive his non-cooperation as a method of revolution to overthrow a governmental system, but only as a way of preserving his own self-respect and making propaganda on the issues of the day.

Tucker, however, never formulated a concrete scheme of specific acts of non-cooperation to start an actual clash with the government. Doubtless Gandhi never could have done just what he did if he had not had a far more numerous following than Tucker ever had; but it need not follow that non-cooperation by a small party is a hopeless method. Thoreau did more for the social revolution by going to jail in preference to paying his poll tax than by writing his essay on Civil Disobedience; and conscientious objectors to military service certainly make a dent in the system. Graham's refusal to cooperate in the deportation proceedings deserves applause as well as support.

After Tucker moved to New York, **Liberty** dwindled down and suspended publication in 1908. To be sure, Tucker, even after he had moved to Europe, took offense at the use of that phrase, maintaining that those words implied definitive cessation, whereas he had merely temporarily interrupted the publication, to be begun again at some convenient time. But the convenient time never came to him.

Always an enthusiast for France, Tucker in the world war took the whole-hearted pro-Ally stand of a thorough Frenchman. Somewhere about the beginning of the century I had published a little set of propaganda stickers; and Tucker had later taken over the publication, reprinting on better paper most of mine and adding a number of new ones. The war caused him to withdraw from publication the sticker which said **"Don't enlist in any service in which you are liable to be ordered to kill a man (or men) that you do not think ought to be killed"**; for he did not wish to do anything to discourage enlistment in the Allied forces. I felt that Tucker, apostle of the sovereignity of the individual ego, was slipping a little. I felt all the more so when I learned that he had decided that it would not be desirable to abolish government at once if we could, because capitalist monopoly is now so firmly entrenched that we must first break its power by a period of state socialism, and afterward we can set up anarchy. Now I still take the view that when anybody desires to postpone the establishment of anarchy to the indefinite date when we get some now remote prerequisite (other than a wider and better understanding of the anarchist principle), then that person comes into the same class with those clergymen who say that they are anarchists, but that the abolition of government must be preceded by the Christianization of the race so that there shall be no more anti-social impulses. We are glad to have anybody be so much of a fellow-traveler as not to be hostile to the name of anarchist, but such anarchism has little to do with the business of anarchist propaganda.

Some of this may have sounded as if I were no great Tuckerite. I do not think Tucker's system perfect beyond modification; but to me it seems to offer the most satisfactory concrete scheme of fundamentals for the constitution of society that has yet come before the public.

BOOK REVIEW

The readers of MAN! know that "Mussolini Red and Black" is the title of a book written by comrade Armando Borghi. This book, which was orginally printed in Italian, has been published in various other languages including an English edition which appeared in London in 1935. Last year a revised and enriched editon was put out in New York, and it has succeeded in calling the attention of various liberal literary critics and reviewers to the inestimable value of the book.

I have read a number of reviews of this book of comrade Borghi, and I like to quote a few interesting opinions expressed by reviewers of different social and political outlooks. The readers of MAN! will thus have the opportunity of knowing other appreciations of a book written by an anarchist and dissecting with the unrelenting probing and the deftnes of a surgeon, the myth Mussolini.

Says the **Sunday Telegram:** "Dorothy Dudley has translater a life of Mussolini by one of his countrymen and former friends, Armando Borghi, who, we gather from the introductory notes, is an exile today. His work on Mussolini has appeared in Paris, London and Amsterdam, and has tardily been released in this country. Its value must be determined by readers who seek, to the best of their ability, to learn the truth, and the unbiased truth, about Façism not only in Italy but in other countries where it is gaining influence."

Eugene Lyons in the **New Leader:** "What the daily press has done for Mr. Coster, in stripping him of pretenses to the Musica beneath, a little book now available at last in an American edition does for Benito Mussolini. It plucks the Fascist feathers and spangles from his hide to reveal the despicable creature under the decorations.

"Though known only to a relative narrow audience as yet, the book is already a classic. For all those who have attempted to pierce the official and synthetic Mussolini projected by propaganda, it has for years been a source book. I refer to Armando Borghi's story of Mussolini's early career, first published in Italian under the title "Mussolini in Camicia", and thereafter made available in French, Dutch and English. . . . It is a matter of satisfaction, therefore, that an American edition, entitled "Mussolini Red and Black" has recently been put out by the Freie Aibeiter Stimme, 45 West 17th St., New York."

"Armando Borghi. like Mussolini, was born and raised in that amazing Italian province of Romagna, where the ideologies of pre-war years strutted and echoed and gestured as nowhere else. Here is how Borghi himself recalls the "Romagna of youth": '. . . .A wide sowing of subversive ideas. Untrimmed beards in the manner of the carbonari, caps in the style of Garibaldi, big Cipriani hats, flamboyant cravats black and red; parties, clubs, breathless discussions on Mazzini and on Marx, on Costa and on Malatesta; types of Sans-coulottes and Jacobins; songs of the barricades and refrains popular among priest-devourers. Men of whom you had only to ask their lives to defend liberty and they would never refuse you."

Angelica Balabonoff, herself an exile from Italy and for three decades a participant in the radical movement of that country, writes: "The systematic eradication of historical facts by the omnipotent and unscrupulous adventures who rule the dictatorial countries of our day is one of the most appalling of their black crimes. Yet they pursue this practice with impunity. Strangely enough, for various reasons, even the opponents of dictatorships and dictators unwittingly aid and abet in the commission of this unpardonable offense against history. It is therefore a great relief to read this book of Borghi's, for it is one of the very authentic documents that restore the facts about Mussolini in their true light and in their true relation to the succession of events that have made him the originator of Fascism.

"The proponents of Fascism see Mussolini as the miraculous savior of their own privileged position in society. They therefore, create him in the image of their own ideal of what their savior ought to be. . . . Outside of Italy the

(Continued on Page Seven)

ART AND LITERATURE

A LITERARY CHAMPION OF FREEDOM: Who is Bruno Traven?

The Book House "Bookguild Gutenberg" has just recently celebrated an event which met the approbation and joyful greetings of its readers.

In April, 1937, it was 10 years since the "Guild" published the first book by B. Traven. From then on about a dozen books from the pen of the "swell guy", as a certain genial critic was wont to call him, enthused the members of that group. But who is B. Traven? We know so very little of him—only that he lives in Mexico, that somewhere in that city Tamaulipas he has a post-office address which keeps him in contact with the world. This secluded modesty behind his works adds much to the author's glory and at the same time makes us understand his drawing away from worldly acclaim. This appeals still more to our sympathy for him because of its contrast to the hysteric clamoring for recognition by the literary "zeros" of the Third Reich.

If I am at present attempting to throw some light on a section of Traven's life, I do it with these intentions: First, not to erase from memory the information confided to me by another champion for freedom who had been murdered in a Nazi concentration camp; secondly, to inform Travern of the Call, which appeared in several copies of a monthly journal which was published in Berlin and which surely never reached him; thirdly, to show that Traven is not only a gifted writer of important social problems but that he was also a pioneer, ready to sacrifice with life when called upon to fight for an idea. . . and that only accidentally did he escape in Munich (1919).

Attentive readers of his last works will not wonder at their ability to identify the author because the remarks written about the panic that resulted from the last revolution impart a strong personal impression. Nevertheless, the question still persists as to who is Traven, for even this part of his life he lived under the pseudonym "Ret Marut". This brings forward another puzzling question: Who is **Ret Marut**? Who is **Richard Maurut?**

For the subsequent data I owe a debt of gratitude to my friend Erich Meuhsam, whose biography (more correctly, a biographic sketch) I am writing now. I might insert that our identical conception about the world, our uninterrupted correspondence and personal acquaintanceship have provided the basis for this biographical sketch.

In connection with Erich Meuhsam's lectures, which I arranged in Vienna in the vear 1931, I naturally discussed with him about the accomplished author Traven, whose works I praised without reservation because the fundamental tendency professed in them is also ours.

One autumn day in 1917 Erich Meuhsam related to me—a very gifted young man appeared in Munich and began publishing an interesting magazine that appeared very irregularly. The young man used the name **Ret Marut**; his publication he called "Ziegelbrenner" (The Brickburner). No one knew his real name. Even his closest friends had no idea what his real name was. The "Ziegelbrenner" attacked very strongly the methods pursued by journalism; it also attacked the question of war, legal justice and governmental authority in general. He also helped to spread the seeds of the revolution, which started in Munich on May first, 1919, when the Soviet-Republic in Bavaria was founded. General **Ep**, with his band of volunteers, then marched into Munich, and **Ret Marut**, one of the main leaders of the Soviet, was arrested and, without much ceremony, slated to be shot. On the way to the place of execution, he succeeded in escaping from the military carriage and disappeared. A few numbers of the "Ziegelbrenner" continued to appear in 1920 and 1921 in Vienna, later in several other European cities, until it became defunct. After the Munich happenings, the magazine was delivered to its former subscribers only. (According to a notice on its title page, no new subscriptions were accepted.) At the same time, the anonymous editor made this declaration: **"In several parts of Germany, there are certain people who claim to be publishers of "Ziegelbrenner." Whoever makes such a claim is an impostor because the real publisher entertains no motive to look for such rotten propaganda."** This was very much regretted by Meuhsam, who had the highest regard for the anti-authoritarian "Ziegelbrenner". When Meuhsam, after being freed from a five-year term of incarceration in the Bavarian fortress, published the monthlv journal **"Fanel"** in the city of Berlin, he printed this announcement in the seventh issue of its first year's appearance, April, 1927:

"WHERE IS THE ZIEGELBRENNER?"

"Do none of the readers of 'Fanel' know the whereabouts of Ziegelbrenner?—Ret Marut, comrade, friend, co-revolutionist, brother, let us hear from you, show us that you are alive, that you are still the same 'Ziegelbrenner', that your heart has not failed you, that your mind has not tempered, that your arm is not paralyzed, that your hand has not stiffened. You eluded the Bavarians in 1919. If you had not succeeded, you would have long been placed where **Landauer** and others of our great thinkers are buried, where I too would be if they had not arrested me 14 days before and sent me away from the place of execution. Right now they can do nothing to you. The amnesty that was proclaimed will have to be applied also in your case. It calls upon you to write the origin of the Bavarian Commune. The published documents, until now, have been written from a partisan viewpoint. I, too, am in some respects partial, too personally imbued with the aims, too deeply engrossed in the conflicting merits and demerits to be able to write with sufficient objectivity the history of the revolution.

"You are the only one who took an active part in the happenings and, therefore, could observe from within, as well as from without, what occured that was repulsive and what was intended to be good; what was interpreted correctly and what could have been made better. The remaining works of Gustav Landauer, his letters, his speeches and all that he accomplished in his last days will soon be offered for open criticism. You were at his side as co-worker and follower when he was the People's commissar of propaganda. We are in need of you. Who knows the "Ziegelbrenner"? Who of the readers of 'Fanel' knows where we might locate **Ret Marut?**

"Many inquire about him. Many are waiting for him. He must answer the call."

To our dismay, as Meuhsam related to me, the appeal remained unanswered, and Meuhsam lost all hope in ever hearing about **Ret Marut.** Then, one day, he came upon the first books of Traven. He began reading them. Somehow, the style of writing appeared very familiar to him. But he had to rack his brains to find somewhere a similarity to this writing. He then searched through the old issues of "Ziegelbrenner" and together with Rudolph Rocker, compared the style of writing. One day it dawned upon him that the style resembled very closely that of Ret Marut. It was then that both Meuhsam and Rocker decided that Ret Marut, editor of "Ziegelbrenner", was none other than Bruno Traven. This is how the story was related to me by E. Meuhsam.

When I was in Germany, not long ago, I procured after a long search, several numbers of "Ziegelbrenner." I think Meuhsam's conclusion is positively correct, and I believe I can go a step further in the study of B. Traven. On the title page of the first number of "Ziegelbrenner", there is recommended a volume of novels "to Fraulein from S . . . " by **Richard Maraut.** There is reason to believe that the mysterious novel", as it is described in the announcement, is the first belletristic work by Traven. The fact that the publishing house is now extinct makes it impossible to obtain any kind of data. But in the very detailed work "Deutsches Anonymes Lexicon" there is no mention of the name B. Traven. We must, therefore, conclude that the name Richard Maraut is the real name of Traven. The fact that the contents of the book is in Traven's intellectual style strengthens the supposition. Here is what one critic had to say in the matter:

". . . . It is the tragic story of a man whose heart-rending lonesomeness became his fate in the midst of thousands of jubilant comrades. It is one of the excellent tests by which we can observe the psychology of war-hero through the eyes of an artist. Any other writer would have created two thick novels from the immense material and still would have enough left for a collection of novels. The book has no real beginning and leaves an enigmatic impression at the end; war-scenes are sketched very plastically and in great number; yet the book has little connection with war. It is the suppressed outcry of a suffering dreamer who becomes a soldier only by accident."

No matter what the name may be, Ret Marut or Richard Maraut, it is the infallible anarchist idea that is expressed in the works. This fills us with enthusiasm. To have known the person who was that revolutionary writer is not of such great consequence; to read his works, to realize his thoughts is the most important thing.

This I shall endeavor to prove with a quotation from "Ziegelbrenner" (1921) which is characteristic of Traven's style of writing. Under the caption **"The Opposite"**, he says:

"Is knowledge power? No! Action is power!

"Does knowledge free us? No! We are freed by action!"

L. KRAFT

(English version by S. Polinov from **Das Freie Wort** —"The Free Word", of Argentine).

BOOK REVIEW

(Continued from Page Six)

press, being controlled by the privileged strata of society, collaborates in spreading these concoctions of fancy as the only true portrayal of the prototype for the savior-to-be in their own respective countries. . . . And sad to relate, even the most democratic of proletarians succumb to these falsehoods, blinded by this effulgence of Mussolini decked in the tinsel of these legends. They say that, after all, Mussolini must have some outstanding qualities to be where he is. And subconsciouly they respect him for these 'some outstanding qualities' without probing too deeply into their nature, for it is part training in the capitalistic society and part of human frailty to worship power. . . . It is at this stage of thinking process that Borghi's book performs its unique service". W. B.

A new edition of

MUSSOLINI RED and BLACK

by

Armando Borghi

A vivid and documentary exposé of the greatest clown and the most despicable coward of the century.

Price 75c. Obtainable through MAN! at the special price of 60c for our readers.

POETRY

Flags

Flags are rags
Around which fools rally
When greed calls and nations
Are at each other's throats.

Czechoslovakia

Rampaging greed
Thirsty for another war,
Goose steps along the highway of
Time and nation falls into the
Dark pit of oblivion.

William Allen WARD.

Syntoms Marked

Well, well,
Let it go;
We're just hurt
By what we know.

Stop your ears,
Shut your eyes,
Say the world
Is full of lies.

Drown the scream
Of the lash
In the tune
Of clinking cash.

Turn your head
Well aside;
These are just
Slum men who died.

Only, this:
Hell can be
Next door to
Insanity.

Gilean DOUGLAS.

Two Babes Were Born

Two babes were born one happy morn,
They came with love divine,
And a mother smiled by the River Thames,
And a mother smiled by the Rhine.

These children grew, so brave and true,
Each mother said, "How fine!"
And hearts were glad by the River Thames,
And hearts were glad by the Rhine.

But one sad day, so people say,
Their rulers tried to shine,
And one heard the call by the River Thames,
And another the call by the Rhine.

These two brave sons, they raised their guns,
As they marched in martial line,
And a mother sighed by the River Thames,
And a mother sighed by the Rhine.

On the battle plain where the bullets rain,
These lads formed into line,
And hearts were sad by the River Thames,
An hearts were sad by the Rhine.

They took their sight in the bitter fight,
Their aim was really fine.
And a mother prayed by the River Thames,
And a mother prayed by the Rhine.

Two noble sons fell by their guns,
Their names in glory shine,
And a mother weeps by the River Thames,
And a mother weeps by the Rhine.

So the Thames so fine, and the River Rhine,
Flow into the same great sea,
And they seem to say as they kiss the spray,
"If men were as wise as we."

—Fred EASTON in The Word.

OUR POSITION TOWARDS WAR

Samuel Polinov

Again the war clouds are hovering over the continent of Europe. The powder-keg is all set for the explosion. What it needs is for one of the gangster chieftains to ignite it, and nations will become embroiled in the bloodiest carnage since the war racket came to be organized by military opportunists.

With Hitler clamoring for Danzig, the Polish Corridor and what will follow next, war is almost a near certainty. Unlike the Munich appeasament of September last which resulted in dismemberment of Czecho-Slovakia, a new crisis can hardly be averted now. England and France, the hitherto masters of Europe, simply cannot afford more concessions to Hitler for a German expansion which, in time, would seriously impair their own national and economic existence. Hence, they are well prepared and determined for a showdown. Hitler, on the other hand, will not back away from his lust for Napoleonic ambition. He must pursue his policy of annexation or perish. Such has always been the course of dictators. It is extremely doubtful whether the Hitlers and Mussolinis can escape the destiny of their predecessors. But the course of history is clearly mapped out for them, and they are going to follow upon that course regardless of sacrifice to themselves or to the people they rule.

A European war, therefore, seems to be inevitable. Perhaps there will be another appeasement, perhaps another postponement; but the ominous facts consistently point in that direction.

Frankly speaking, aside from our deep sympathy and pity for the innocent women and children, who are the greatest victims in modern warfare, we are not much perturbed by the war-crazed mania. Our well founded well-rationalized conclusion is based on this premise: If people, by their own free will, choose for themselves such ambitious idiots as Hitler and Mussolini to lead them to slaughter, they should be accorded every privilege to lay down their lives for them. We intend shedding no tears when these raving maniacs begin to come back from battle on crutches or in flag-draped caskets.

However, we have strayed from the subject. The main topic of discussion intended here is to outline the position we, of the Anarchist movement, are to take when the hour strikes for the millions of people to be exterminated by the armed weapons of destruction. We should not repeat the mistake of the last World War when a good many of us were swayed by the Kropotkin idea of taking side with the Allied Imperialists' cause against German Prussionism.

Let us, then, face the impending catastrophe with open mind and clear vision.

To begin with, we are faced with a political situation which is perplexing to the whole radical world, and particularly to the Anarchist movement. The radical world today stands bewildered, helpless and confused at the unusual trend international politics has taken. Here is a strange situation: In former years, even the mere mention of war was looked upon in radical circles as an attempt by the capitalist class to slaughter the laboring masses for the preservation of its profit-yielding markets. The masses through their trusted leaders, were not too timid in denouncing this sacrifice of humanity for niggardly material gains: while they could not prevent the imperialists from war mongering, they at least stood their ground in voicing what could be termed an ideological opposition. Today the war issue has brought forth a reversed attitude in both camps. While the capitalist class has been, and probably still is or will be, reluctant to join in the eventful armed conflict, the radical world looks favorably, even impatiently, for a war to break out at any moment. The reason for this reversed attitude on the part of the radical world is quite clear and understandable. It is namely this; a bitter hatred which has culminated in the mind of every radical, liberal and otherwise thinking person against the black plague known as Fascism. This beastly monster, having crushed in its wake every vestige of human freedom that was gained in centuries of struggle, is viewed by them—and not in vain, perhaps as a stronger menace to humanity than is capitalism. Particularly fresh in our minds is the crushing defeat the Spanish proletariat suffered at the hands of Hitler's and Mussolini's fascist brigands.

These facts are obvious enough. But before reaching any hasty conclusion and thus throw in our lot with imperial capitalism in its armed conflict against Fascism, there are certain points to be taken into consideration. With whom are we going to effect an ideological alliance when the fatal hour has struck? The answer is very easy, of course. Our sympathies must inevitably be with England, France, Poland and the rest of the countries that will fall in line.

Now that we have chosen sides, let us pause a moment and reflect on the shameful role these countries have played in building up the Fascist monster which is threatening to destroy the whole human race. Let us see.

England, represented by her Tory administration, has from the day Hitler rose to power connived to build up a strong Nazified Germany; without England's moral and financial support Germany would have never become the mighty power on sea and land she is today.

France, being a pawn of England, is forced to play the role of "mascot" to the English navy. Thus, taking the cue of England's strategists, she looked aside when Germany fortified the Rhine; she crawled under a quilt when Mussolini pirated the seas and joined Mr. Chamberlain in the infamous Munich comedy. Even at this very moment, when her own border is threatened by invasion from the German side, France is selling the largest tonnage of scrap iron to Hitler's munition factories.

The dictatorial methods employed by the Polish government in suppresing her minorities have surpassed in atrocity even the Fascist-Nazi dictatorship. Furthermore, the public has not forgotten that during the Munich crisis, when Hitler sent his Nazi hordes to the gates of Czecho-Slovakia, Poland fell upon the throat of the grief stricken republic and with beastly appetite tore off large chunks of her territory.

Now England is crying the blues. She well realizes the grave danger which is hovering upon her from Hitler's war machine she helped build. Nevertheless, her diplomacy was quite shrewd in its original planning. What England orginally expected was that Danzig would become the initial center of attack by Hitler; from there he was to have marched probably without resistance to the Polish Corridor leading toward Soviet Ukraine. Upon reaching the Soviet border, it should have broken out a war between the U. S. S. R. and Germany. In other words, what England anticipated was an open clash between Nazism and Communism, whereby both might suffer a crushing defeat while English bankers would gather up the profits. It did not work out as expected—much to the annoyance of England's diplomacy. Instead of marching eastward, Hitler first grabbed Austria, then Czecho-Slovakia, then Memel. And now he wants Danzig. This is already too much. Even if he should now aim for the Ukraine, it would be too dangerous to permit him become the master of whole Europe. Moreover, judging from the semi-friendly relations now prevalent between Germany and Russia, it is not unlikely that after the conquest of Danzig Hitler will revive his claim for Germany's lost colonies and might even turn his attention to Germany's sworn enemy—France, while Mussolini strikes at Tunisia.

It can, therefore, be clearly seen that the coming war will be a war of conquest between one union of empires and another. The hue and cry raised by the democracies that they are going to wage war on Fascism is pure "bunk". Britain's Toryism and French bankerism are not politically interested to combat Fascism. If they were, they would not have permitted the raping of Spain by Hitler and Mussolini; they could have very easily dealt a death blow to the Fascist beast right there on the Spanish battlefields where so many thousands of the working class perished defending their freedom. Instead, those reactionary governments aided and abetted Hitler's and Mussolini's legions to crush the resistance of the Spanish workers.

Thus, we can see that the issues involved well nigh explain the true causes that will precipitate the next World War. From all indications it will be an imperialistic war—just as it was in 1914. While we must acknowledge that Fascism will prominently figure in the struggle, we should not be oblivious to the fact that in a long run our ideal philosophy for a liberated humanity will have gained nothing from the outcome. We had our lesson in the last War. What we gained then is nil; what we can hope to gain now will probably be doubly nil. Britain and France will again maneuver the political wheel in such a manner that if not Fascism (assuming that Fascism is defeated) some other form of tyranny will be set up by them to serve as a kind of "balance of power" against any possible threat to their capitalist institutions from the awakening masses.

There are no doubt many in our movement today who demand a clear and definite outline of position we are to take at the outbreak of hostilities. As a matter of fact, there is plenty of war going on right now. Should we go with the Fascist or with the Capitalists? The answer is very simple indeed: with neither. Imagine the tragic dilemma in which we are. On the one side stands a vicious beast (Fascism) with gnawing teeth, ready to spring upon our throats; on the other stands his stuff-shirted trainer (Capitalism), ready to let the beast loose upon us. Naturally, we must show our contempt for Hitler and Mussolini, but can we symphatize with such liars and hypocrites as the Messrs. Chamberlain and Daladier without feeling a revolting shame? Can we align ourselves with the organized bandits of Poland without contaminating our sense of judgement?

No, we cannot. We have nothing in common with any of the ruling classes or their political manipulators. Our lot is with the common people. To them we should carry our message and greeting. We should arouse them to realize once and for all that their only salvation lies in a human society boasting of no Rulers, no Fuehrers and no Duces to lead them to mass slaughter such as is awaiting them now on the European battlegrounds. After all, let us not deceive ourselves in believing that our word or deed can have any immediate influence upon the political status of the world. We have no arms, no soldiers with which to settle the issue dominating international power politics. Our weapon is the ideal philosophy for a liberated humanity. This ideal we must continue to expound in war and in peace. There is nothing more we could do. If we fail, if the misled masses would rather heed the roar of the cannon and the rattling of the machine gun, well, let them be the worst for it. . . .

If we are to be consistent in our ideals, let us not join in a war for empire. It is well for us to keep in mind that our struggle is a struggle against oppression and domination by any organized power—be it Fascist, Capitalist or what not.

On Libertarian Socialism

Editor of MAN, Sir:

The June issue of "MAN!" arrived yesterday, (June 19, 1939) and while my eyes have been bothering me so much of late it is a bit difficult for me to read news print I did read—twice—the article by Melchior Seele and if I refrain from answering or attempting to answer it is merely that long experience has taught me it is useless to argue with one who accuses me of **cowardice** and indulging in "a trick used by all authoritarians in order to justify their theories".

To repeat a statement made in a previous letter; of the fifty-odd men and women who took part in the conference at Mohegan last year probably not one of them had been in the movement less than five years and some as long as thirty, forty or even longer. To accuse them of cowardice and trickery is so infantile it makes serious discussion with the accuser impossible. Incidentally the pontificial attitude and air of divine revelation of the article has its humorous side. If yau can find a person able and willing to discuss the conclusions arrived at the Mohegan Conference without calling names or questioning the honesty of those who took part in the conference I am sure someone can be found to answer him or her.

By the way, who is Melchior Seele? A comrade with whom I spoke yesterday expressed the opinion it was a person who did not have the courage to sign his real name.

Yours,
Harry KELLY.

* * *

Dear Comrade Editor:

I have read Kelly's letter and here is my comment: Nowhere in my article do I accuse Harry Kelly of cowardice or of indulging in any tricks. Nowhere do I question the personal character of those who have written the Manifesto. I have tried to understand and to discuss their ideas to the best of my ability. I may have done it inadequately, but certainly I have not discussed personalities or indulged in name calling.

My style may be pompous. I do not know. But that is the way I express my opinions, and he who knows a better method should be able to refrain from vilifying one's imcompetence in writing. After all, we are not conducting a literary academy. Besides, my opinions on Anarchism mean a great deal to me, and it is only natural that I speak or write seriously about them.

I believe the issue of my identity has nothing to do with my opinions on the Manifesto. Harry Kelly, however, seems to think otherwise. Therefore, I am ready to introduce myself to him wherever and whenever it may please him to receive me for the purpose of my indentification.

Sincerely,
Melchior SEELE.

Financial Statement

From Groups:

July 2nd Picnic (collection by Atio and Diva—$28.40; E. Michaels (England, newspaper sales)—$7.78; On list through Porceli at July 30th picnic—$6.00; Outing (share) through Alba—$5.00; Radical Library—$1.00.

From Individuals:

Six Dollars—X; Five Dollars—Julie A. Nielson, Claude Pytle, Calvin Green; Joe Borrow (newspaper sales)—$2.50; J. Rosenda (Australia)—$2.25; Two Dollars—Monroe Bartlett, B. Osterello; S. F. Newspaper sale—$1.31; One Dollar—Ateo Bruzio, C. Laforge, Alexander Peck, D. Boquet, S. Polinow, L. Segal, Fregosi, Joe Oppositi, S. Turiddu, Battista Boggiatto, John F. Stark, Frances Agostinelli, Nathan Bass, Jay Fox, J. Goldbaum; L. A. newspaper sale—.74; S. F. Newspaper sale—.69c.

TOTAL	$95.63
Expeditures	$107.73
Previous Deficit	$66.93
Present DEFICIT	$77.39

Help Us Kill the Deficit!

Subscription..... One Year..... Six Months.....

Name.....

Street .....

City ..... State .....

MAN!, P. O. Box 971,
Los Angeles, California, U. S. A.